1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

the father's taking children of either sex with him on trips and by their being sent to stay for periods with the mother's family (*oluina*).

During this early period the child's education is comprised largely under three heads: (1) psychological, chiefly fear of real and imaginary dangers; (2) social, chiefly usages of etiquette and acquaintance with the kinship structure and its requirements; and (3) practical, or the beginning of skills. The first is imparted by mother, elder siblings, and perhaps by a grandmother. The second is taught both consciously and unconsciously by every older relative with whom the child comes into contact. The third is undertaken by elder siblings or cousins of the same sex. After illustrating the process of each of these three, I shall try to summarize the Umbundu theory of personality and then pass on to the activities of later childhood.

1. *Psychological.* 'Children have no fear of ghosts unless there is someone who has told them of ghosts, or tried to imitate their cries or to make them see one. If after dark a child teases and cries, his mother may say, If you cry like that a ghost (*ocilūlū*) will come and eat you. Since it is dark the child is startled, thinking there are ghosts, and he becomes quiet. Sometimes she tells him, Look out for the oxen, *mu, mu*, or perhaps it will be a leopard. Since the child does not see it, he may disbelieve his mother and think that what she says is untrue. Then again she may name a person, but since the child knows what a person is, but sees none, he will not stop (crying). Often if a child does not go to sleep quickly, his mother may say, Look out, the little old woman will come and pour live coals on your head and you will burn up. Hurry up and go to sleep. Then the child may leave the fireplace in a hurry and fall right into bed trembling. Sometimes a mother may send an elder sibling outside to the threshing-floor, to cry like a hyena, *ī . . . . ī . . . . ī*, while she herself stays in to mock the child, saying, He is crying and coming to eat you up. In the house the child hears the noise and shrieks, Don't come, don't come, I shan't cry any more, I'm going to sleep. It is from such things as these that children's fears come, from long ago until to-day. Children hear these things in their own houses from their parents, from their cross-cousins (*apalume*), from their elder siblings, or from their grandmothers. These same children, however, when they become adults, again begin to emphasize belief in ghosts with their little

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

869 children, even though they may not have seen them themselves. Sometimes at night when it is desired to send a child saying, Go and fetch such-and-such a thing (*ongandi*), then he will begin to tremble, for since it is as black as sin . . . he thinks to himself saying, Everything is full of ghosts, maybe they'll catch me if I go outside. . . . The male parent does not like to teach the children such great fear of ghosts, and he may say, He has great fear of ghosts, and that is a sorcerer which also kills people. There, there, my child, go and get what they've sent you for; fear is not good, go on, my child.'

There is a good deal of realism in ascribing most of the teaching of fear to the 'side of the basket', but it should be remembered, however, that the narrative was composed by men. Fear is also instilled through folk-tales telling of punishments inflicted by the spirits and by various mythical monsters. The fact of their being told at night also adds to their effectiveness.

867 2. *Social Usage.* 'Children are generally ignorant until they have been taught by their relatives with whom they live. First the parents, or an elder sibling, may ask the child saying, Who is this? He answers, Mother (*Maĩ*) or Father (*Tate*) (as the case may be). If the child is the first-born, his cross-cousins (*apalume*) may try him out, saying, Revile your Mother, and (if) he reviles her, they will remember that he has no fear of his mother or his father and they will say, *Avoyo*,[1] the child has no sense (*olondunge*) yet.

'When the child has grown a little so that he appears as one who should distinguish those who are worthy of respect, they try him again, saying, Revile[2] your elder sibling (*huvove*), and he reviles him; Revile your mother (*nyõhõ*), and he does, Revile your father (*so*), but he refuses. Then they recognize that the child now has sense (*olondunge*) and so they switch him with switches. From that time the child ceases (to revile) and begins to respect all people. He does not again err in thinking that only Father is worthy of respect, but rather all people whoever they may be.[3] Children are verbally

[1] *Avoyo*, an expletive expressive of surprise, disgust, &c., according to context and tone used.

[2] *Tuka*, to revile, to speak evil. The child may say, so-and-so is bad (*huka*), or so-and-so stinks (*lĩhã*), or so-and-so is 'crazy' (*topa*), or he may simply say I revile him (*Ndu tuka*). *Tuka* comes from the same root as *tukula*, to call by name.

[3] i.e. those older than the child. Only those of one's age set or older may merit respect.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

Among direct educational forces are the home training given by parents and the mutual responsibility of children and their mother's brother, whose reciprocal obligations have been explained. Family life is undeniably an important institution whose power is by no means suppressed by the strength of the village community and tribal organization. 867

Initiation, which may or may not coincide with puberty, is perhaps the most potent direct influence in formation of character and the inculcation of principles tending to tribal solidarity. Formerly warfare and hunting were more important than they are today, consequently initiation rites imposing hardship and emphasizing the importance of concerted action, had a greater social value than they have at present. 867 881

Formal instruction in industries such as iron-working, or professional hunting, indicates one aspect of occupational training. In these instances there are apprenticeship and an initiatory rite. All children are, however, subject to an indirect industrial education through the agency of play, while a few, according to desire and aptitude, become experts in some particular occupation. 874 [868]

At all times the force of suggestion is at work in the home, in the men's council house, and through everyday observation of the conduct of elders. Probably folklore stories also have an indirect educational value, because some of the fables show the desirability of courage, honesty, and foresight, at the same time deprecating cowardice, stupidity, and low cunning. 869

In chapter IX religious beliefs are discussed, and, in connection with these, standards of conduct are outlined. Although the Ovimbundu have a belief in a supreme being and creator (Suku), and although they believe in survival after death, there is no evidence to show that conduct and education are influenced by theological beliefs. Suku, who is vaguely conceived, is far away and uninterested. He issues no commands. Neither is there a belief in punishments and rewards after death. The standards of conduct are based on utilitarian principles which secure harmony and unity. 771 869 [776]

The efficiency of the direct and indirect educational forces of the Ovimbundu is attested by the history of the tribe. The indigenous system of education, supported by favorable environment, consolidated these people so that they became the dominating power in Angola. Moreover, their cohesion has been such that three centuries of European contacts have failed to eliminate all the basic elements of their tribal life. 177

862 "The practice of leaving the *ocisembe* in the village by day makes his elder sibling[1] responsible for much of his education....She herself may not be more than six or seven years old and consequently cannot be expected to 'educate' her charge very thoroughly. She interests herself in his walking and talking and he will initate her in many things."[2]

863 General instruction in cleanliness begins at this age, although sphincter control may have begun much earlier, since the mother feels every movement made by the baby on her back.

145 After weaning the physical development of the child proceeds more slowly than that of European peoples, and Childs believes that this may be due to deficiencies in diet.[3]

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

857 From the time a child is able to walk until he is about nine years old he continues seeing the same people as before, but he becomes less dependent upon the elder sister or cousin who helped him, and begins his life-long association with his age-mates. The sex-division of society starts for him at this stage: from about eight years boys begin to eat in the *onjango* with their fathers, girls continuing in the kitchen with their mothers. After about eight years the father becomes largely responsible for the education of boys, the mother for that of girls. During this period the child's education may be summarised under three heads:

● 869 (a) *Psychological*, chiefly fear of real or imaginary dangers. This is imparted by mother, elder siblings, and perhaps by a grandmother; there is a tendency for the teaching of fear to be done by women.[4]

867 (b) *Social*, chiefly usages of etiquette and acquaintance with the kinship structure and its requirements. A child of about eight is supposed to know his social status and all the etiquette that pertains to it. In the *onjango* the hierarchy of age is observed, honoured guests and old men being served first, and so on all down the line. With the decline of the *onjango*, there has been a great decline in the teaching of etiquette and social usage, and this naturally affects boys rather than girls.

864 Little direct sex teaching is attempted, and adults are reticent in speaking of sexual matters in the presence of children. But since children live with their parents in one-roomed houses, it is inevitable that children should sometimes observe intercourse.

868 (c) *Training in skills*: Children are taught few definite skills before the age of eight or nine, but many of their games are in imitation of adult activities.

604 857 From the age of six or seven years children are usually sent to spend one or two years with the mother's brother. They may also be sent to the father's sister or brother for a period, and, in the case of girls, to the mother's mother. Formerly prominent families sent their children for a

(1) Either a brother or sister may act as nurse.
(2) Childs, op.cit., p.95. (3) Ibid., p.97.
(4) Childs actually writes " 'the side of the basket' " (p.100), but seems to be referring simply to female relatives.